Immigrants and Boomers

Building a New Social Contract

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The Big Questions

How can the problems of aging and immigration be better understood?

Is there a way to turn the problems into solutions for each other?

How can we rekindle a sense of common purpose and foster a new civic integration?

Defining Social Contract

the underlying shared social understandings that structure cooperation within a world of self-interested people possessing unequal resources. — Beth Rubin, 1996.....

- A. shared social understandings
- B. structure cooperation
- C. self-interested people
- D. unequal resources

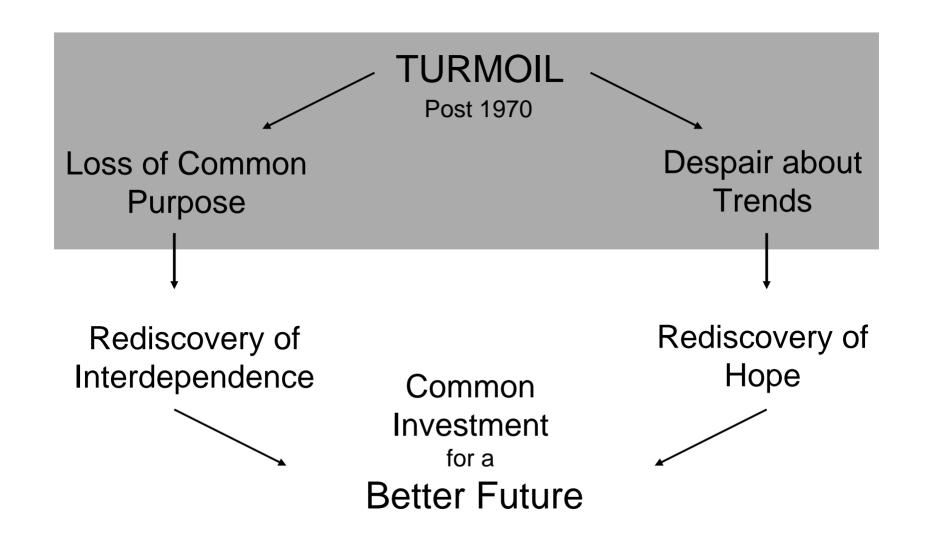
Our Evolving Social Contract

Five Eras

- 1. Rugged individualism and immigrant incorporation (pre-1930)
- 2. The New Deal and World War II (1930 to 1950)
- 3. Middle class entitlement (1950 to 1975)
- 4. Limiting government (1975 to 2010)
- 5. The new immigration and an aging society (2010–?)

The Politics of Discouragement

Our Historic and Future Transition



Turmoil and Dismay

- 1. Economic disappointment post-1973
- 2. Vietnam and Watergate--loss of trust
- 3. Cultural fragmentation
 - counter-culture; multiculturalism; and more
- 4. Concentrated calamities in California, 1990-94
 - natural disasters
 - social disruptions
 - deep recession & house price collapse

and now the Crisis of the Two Demographic Challenges

- 5. Revival of immigration
 - amplifies all the other fears
- 6. Baby boomer retirements
 - fiscal and economic disaster

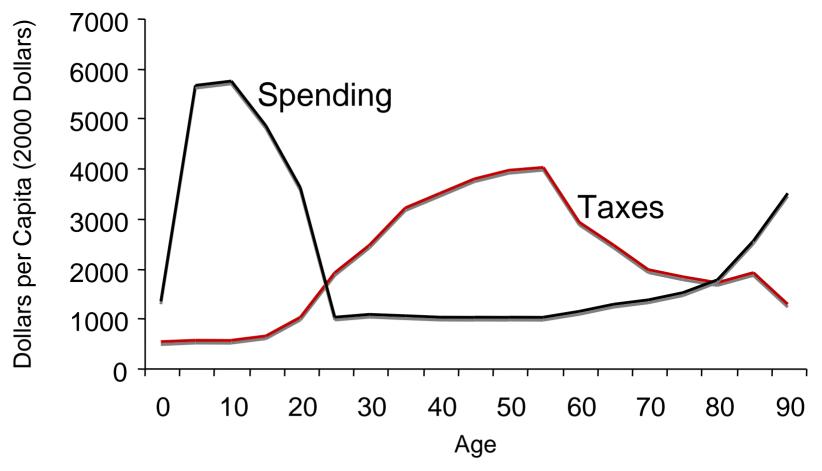
illegal

Unauthorized Undesirable Not invited NOT WANTED

How can we reframe this outlook on our social changes? **IN JEOPARDY** Without which support for public services for all, both Young and Old is

Spending and Taxes in California

By Age, 2000



Source: Immigrants and Boomers, Figure 9.1; Ron Lee et al. (2003)

Immigrants a Burden or a Benefit?

Percent of White Voters who Believe Immigrants a Burden

	1998	2004	Change
Liberals	40	29	-11
Conservatives	54	64	+10
Gap (L – C)	-14	-35	+21

Source: PPIC Statewide Survey; Immigrants and Boomers, Chapter 7 & Table B.3

Perceived Immigrant Burden Undermines Tax Support for All

Prop 55 Statewide School Bond Issue in 2004

If Conservative rather than Liberal

18% LESS support

plus

If believe taxes are wasted a lot

8% even LESS support

plus

If believe immigrants a burden

9% even LESS support

Holding all other factors equal: controlling for differences in race, age, gender, children presenting the family, nativity, education, income, and homeownership Source: *Immigrants and Boomers*, Chapter 7, Table B.5

Surviving The Baby **Boomer Tsunami**

Double decades of 30% increase



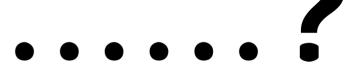


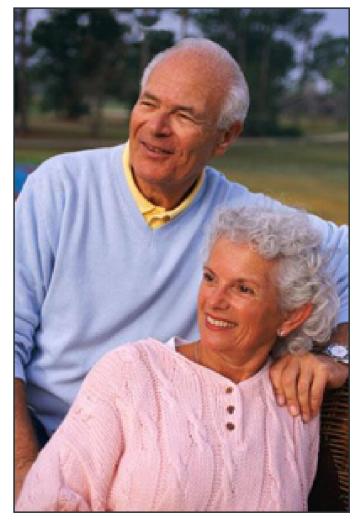


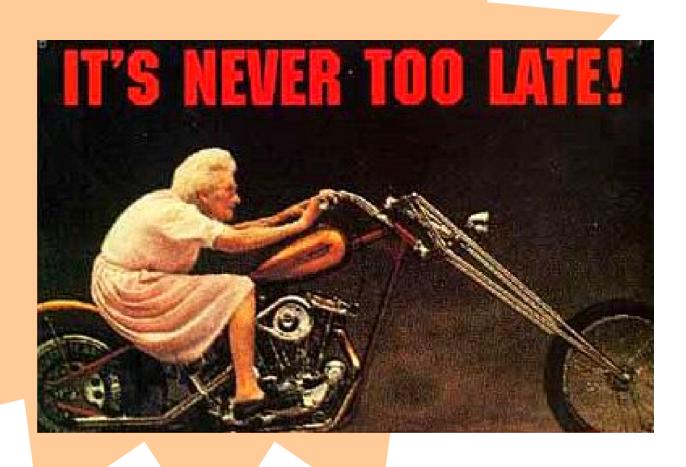






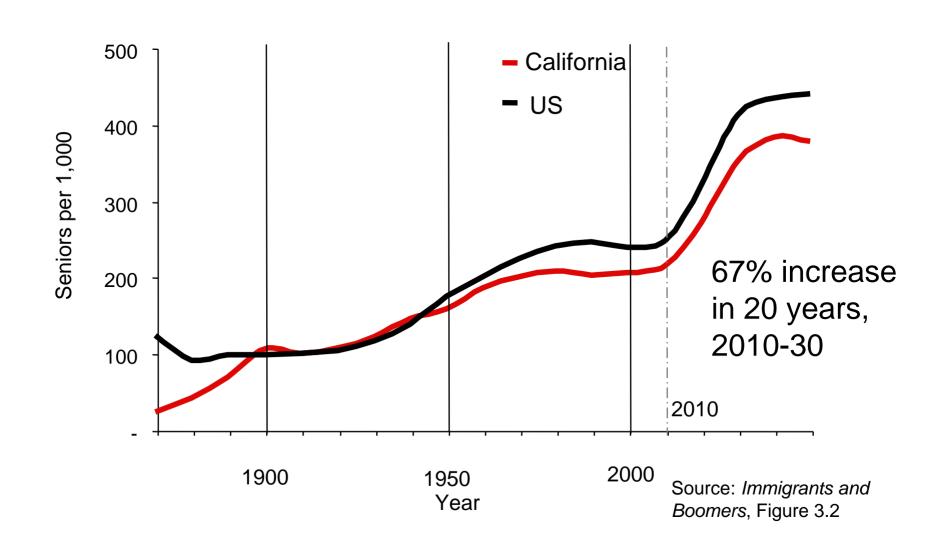




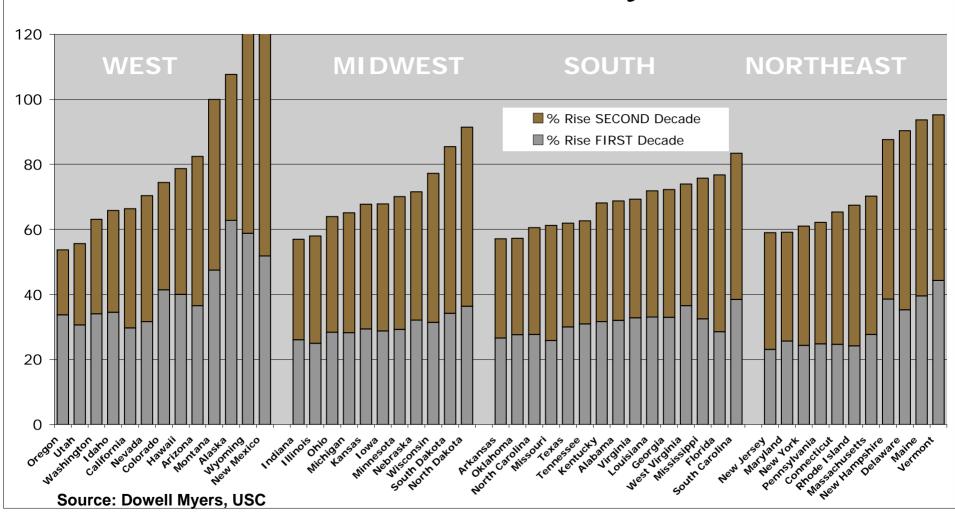


The Growing Weight of Seniors

Ratio of Seniors per 1000 Working-Age Residents, ages 25-64

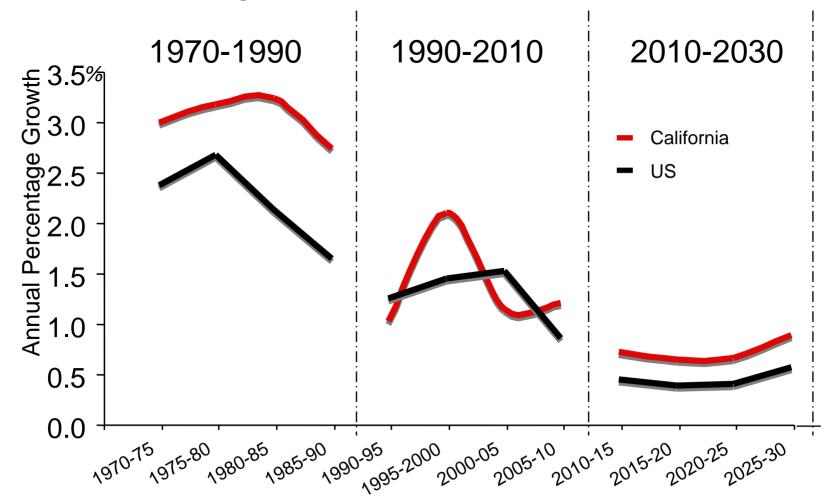


Percent Rise in Senior Ratio in Next Two Decades, by State



Labor Force Slow Down

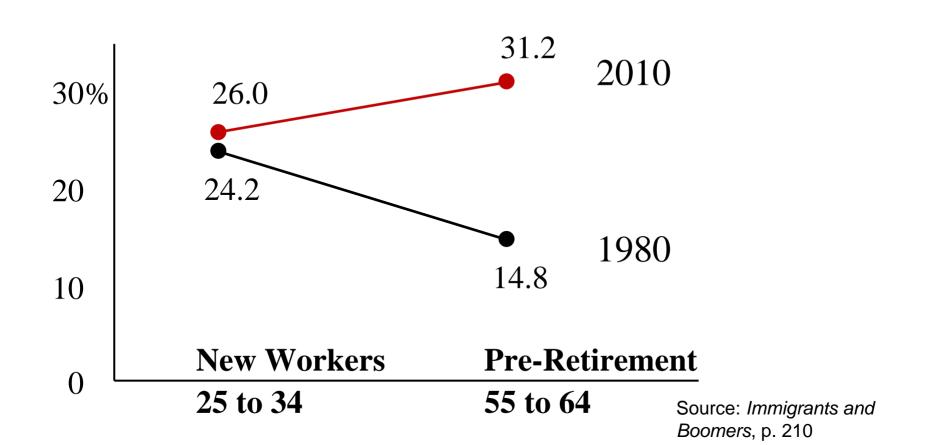
Annual Percentage Growth



Source: Immigrants and Boomers, Figure 3.3

A Coming Decline in the Skilled Workforce

Percent of Residents with a BA or Higher in California



Three Presumed Solutions and One that Works

Alternative Solutions

- Do nothing different—let decline happen
- Encourage higher **non-Latino** achievement to offset the growing numbers of Latinos
- Poaching workers from other states and nations
- Homegrown investment in California's school children

Share with a BA Among Each Racial and Ethnic Group

Among all adults ages 25 to 64

Non-Hispanic Whites 37%

Non-Hispanic Blacks 18%

Latinos 8%

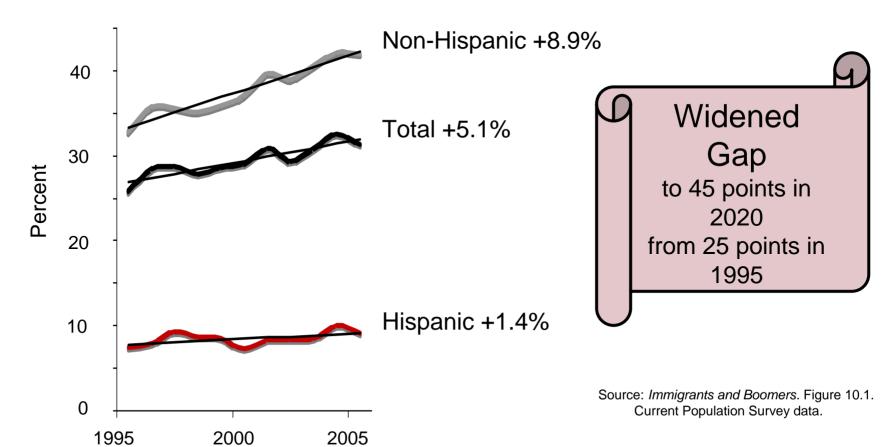
Asian & Pacific Islanders 45%

Source: *Immigrants and Boomers*, Table 10.1

Growing Achievement Gap in Percent with BA or Higher Degree

Ages 25 to 64, California. 1995-2005

Year



California-Born Share of the College-Educated Workforce

Old pattern

Age 55-64

26%

New pattern

Age 25-34

40%

Future pattern

Age 25-34

70% ??

Source: Immigrants and Boomers, Table 10.2

Financial Sense

Returns on Educational Investment to Public Sector

Rand Corp. (2000)

2-to-1

Goal of doubling BA share

Among Latinos in US

UC Berkeley (2005)

3-to-1

Henry Brady et al for the Campaign for College Opportunity

+ \$3 billion lifetime per HS grad class;

Source: Immigrants and Boomers, Chapter 10

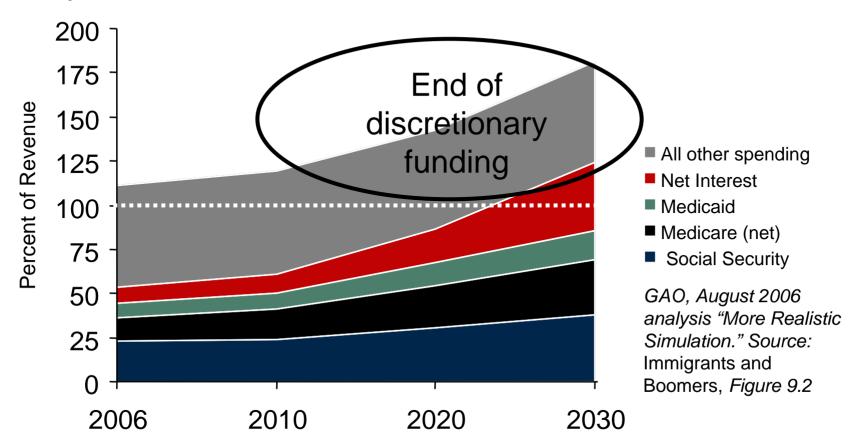
payback by age 35

Aging – the Mother of Many Crises

- Social Security Crisis
- Medicare/Health Insurance Crisis
- Workforce Replacement Crisis
- Taxpayer Replacement Crisis
- The Home Seller Crisis
- Community Investment Crisis

Growing Federal Deficit Reflects Old Age Burdens

Federal Budget Allocation as a Percentage of Projected Federal Revenue



Community Investment Replaced by Retirement Entitlements

End of housing subsidies (beginning 1980s)

End of environmental programs

End of transportation funding

Forget infrastructure--more bridges dropping

End of education support for workforce development

End of wars -- no funding for defense (Okay -- maybe that's not going to happen)

The Rediscovery of Hope about Immigration

and the

Future

The Ultimate Question is What Future Do We Believe?

DESPAIR

- Accelerating Immigration
- Mostly New Immigrants
- Concentration of Newcomers'Characteristics
- Protection of Isolated
 Self Interest

HOPE

- SteadyImmigration
- Mostly Settled Immigrants
- Concentration of Upwardly Mobile Characteristics
- Shared Destiny and Common Interest

The Key Changes....

The end of immigration acceleration

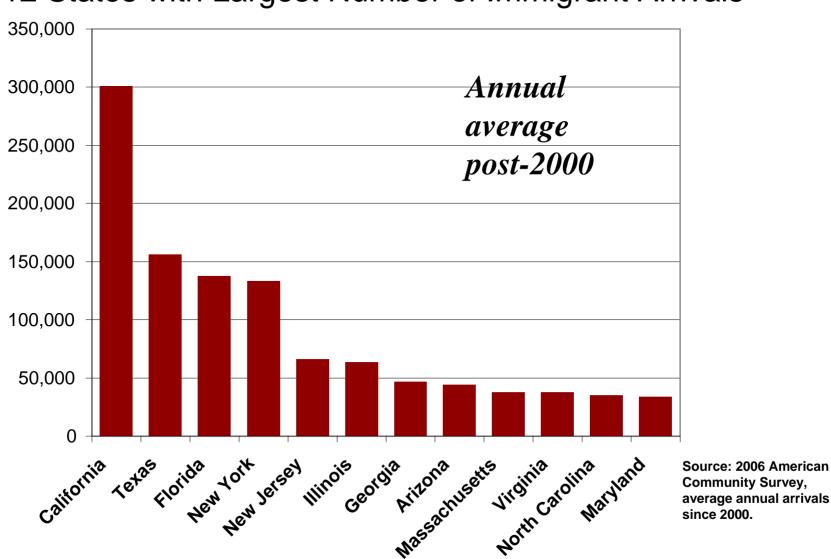
More **long-settled** immigrants

Upward mobility after longer residence

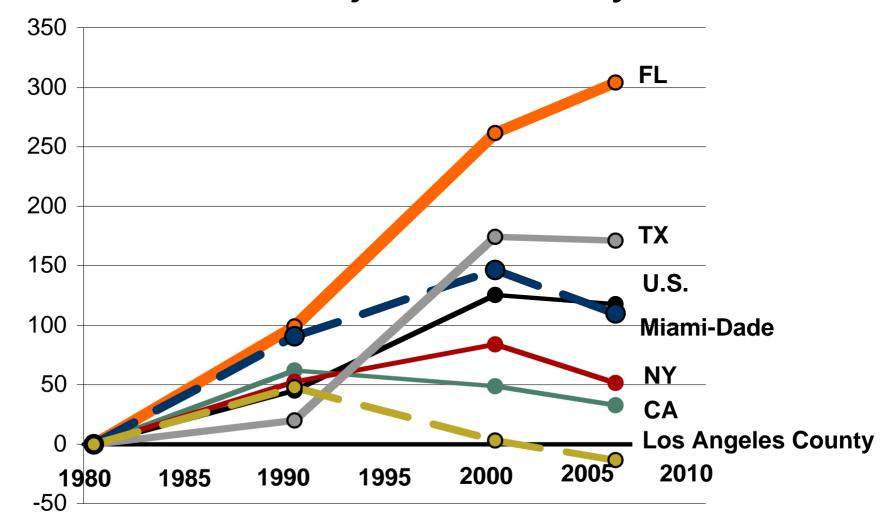
Rediscovery of immigrant contributions

New Arrivals Finding New Homes

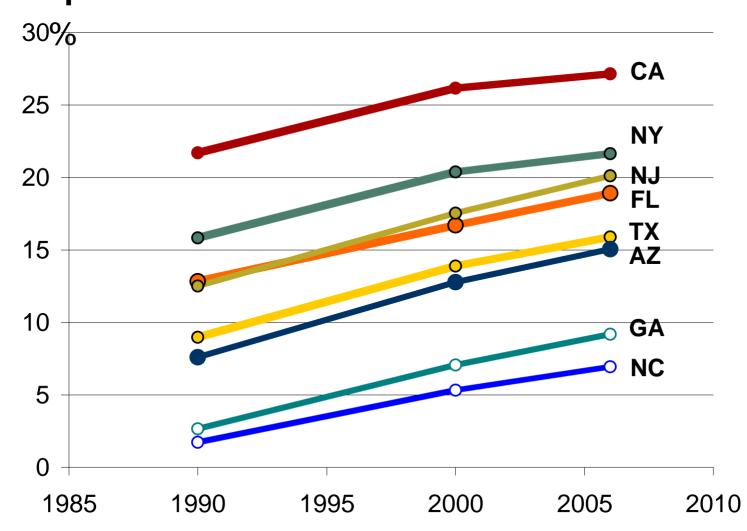
12 States with Largest Number of Immigrant Arrivals



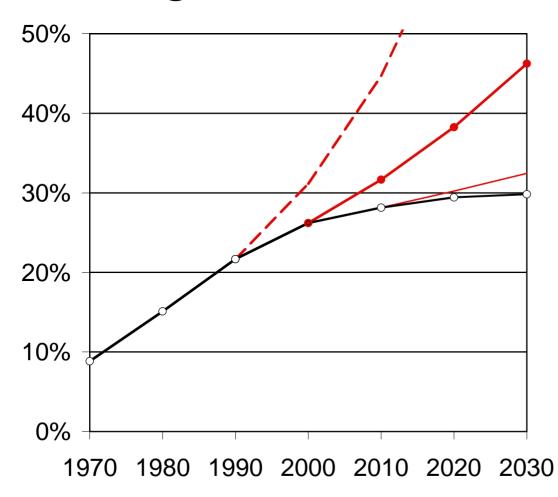
Annual Immigration Declining in Traditional Major Gateways



Foreign-Born Share of State Populations



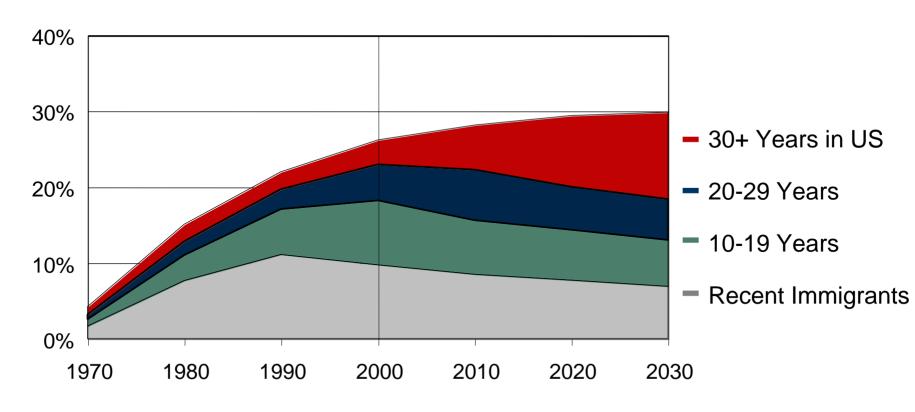
Expectations of Foreign-Born Share in California



Source: *Immigrants and Boomers*, Figure 2.2

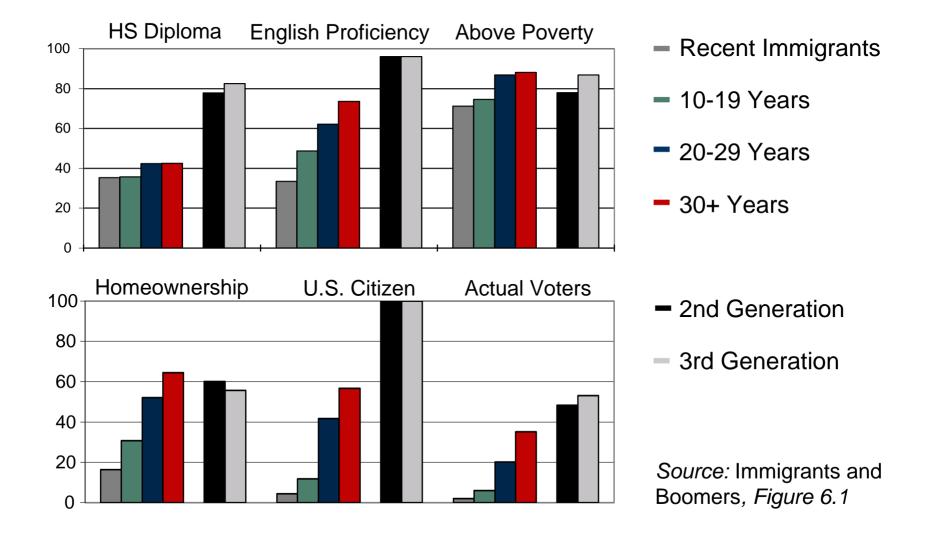
The Longer Settlement of the Immigrant Population

Percent of Total California Population



Source: Decennial census to 1970-2000; CDF 5.0 California Demographic Futures

Upward Mobility of Latinos in CA



Blinded by the Concentration of Newcomers

Share of Foreign-Born Who Are Recently Arrived

Los Angeles 53% (1990)

Des Moines 61% (2000)

Atlanta 61%

Charlotte NC 64%

Los Angeles 35% (2000)

Source: Immigrants and Boomers, Chapter 6

Samuel Huntington's Future America ?

Huntington's Thesis

(from Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity)

Fear of cultural bifurcation

Due to growing use of Spanish

California is epicenter

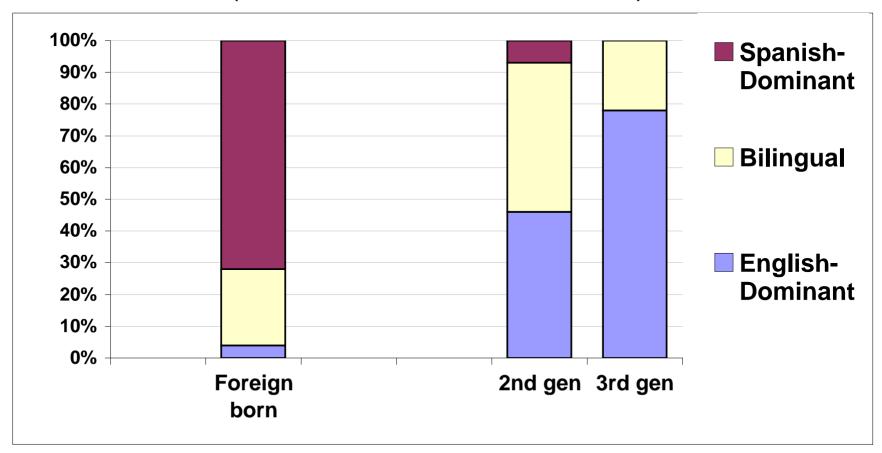
New immigrants arriving faster than assimilation

 For assimilation, Huntington focuses on use of English instead of Spanish

 He views rising Spanish use as anti-assimilation and a cultural threat to America

Percent Spanish Users by Immigrant Generation

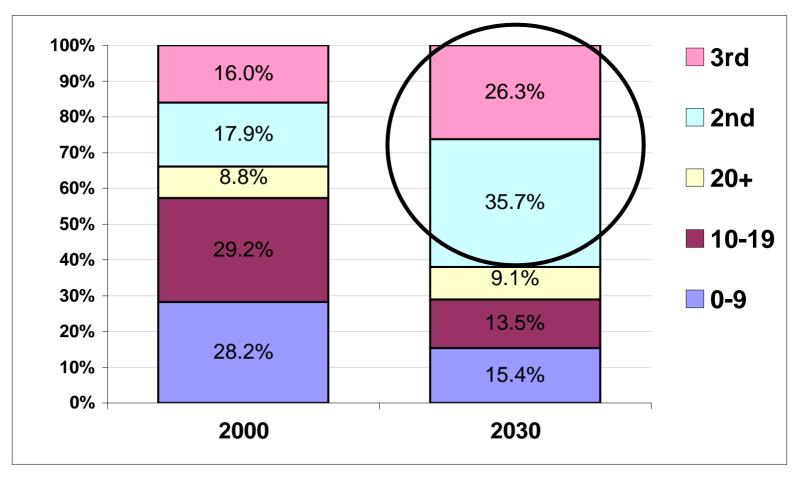
(for Latinos in the U.S., 2002)



Source: Pew Hispanic Center

Population Composition by Years in U.S. and Generation

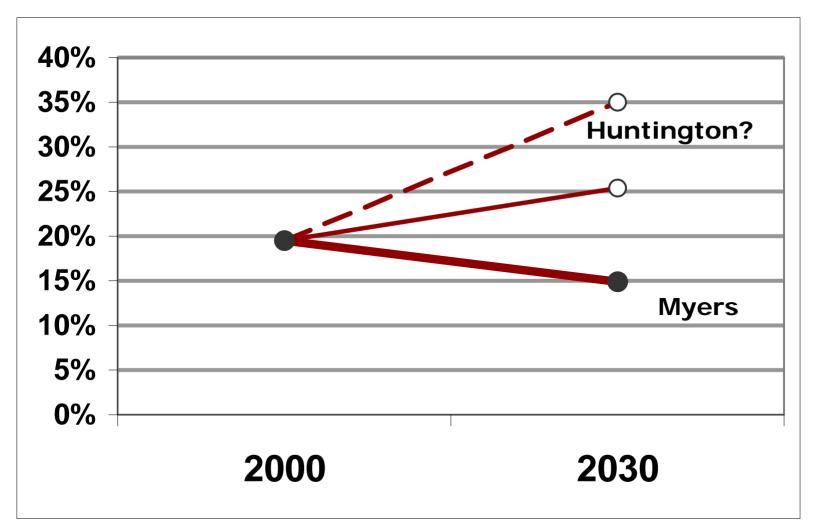
(for Latinos age 25-34 in California)



Percent of California Population that is Latino

	2000	2030	
Total	32.6	46.8	
Age Group 25-34	39.3	51.3	

Percent Spanish Reliant Among Total Age 25-34



How Likely is Samuel Huntington's Vision of the Future America Divided along Language Lines?

The Rediscovery of Common Purpose

Turning Demographics From Problem Into Solution

Rediscovery of the Hope Needed to Solve Our Shared Problems

Immigration inflow no longer accelerating

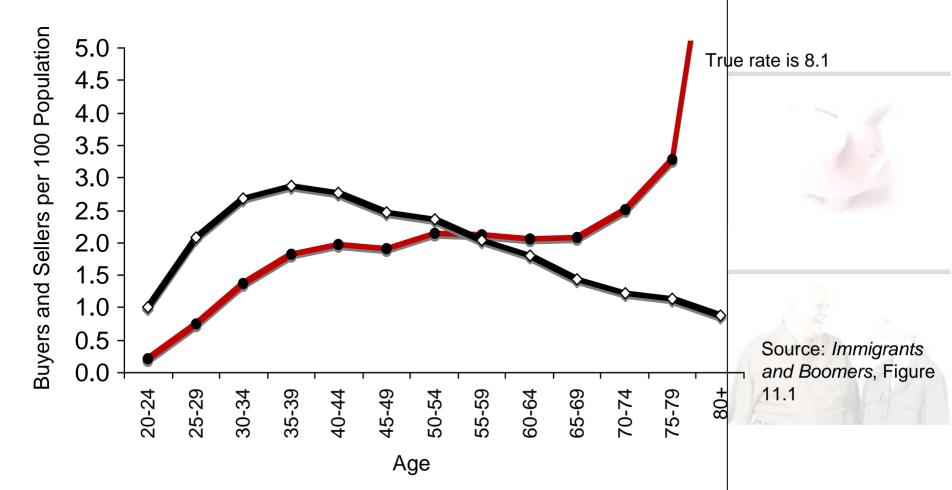
Greater benefits of settled immigrants

Surprising upward mobility by immigrants

Favorable return on education investments

Average Annual Rates of Buying and Selling

Per 100 People of Each Age in California



Just Do the Math

• A buyers' market that will threaten seniors' retirement investments

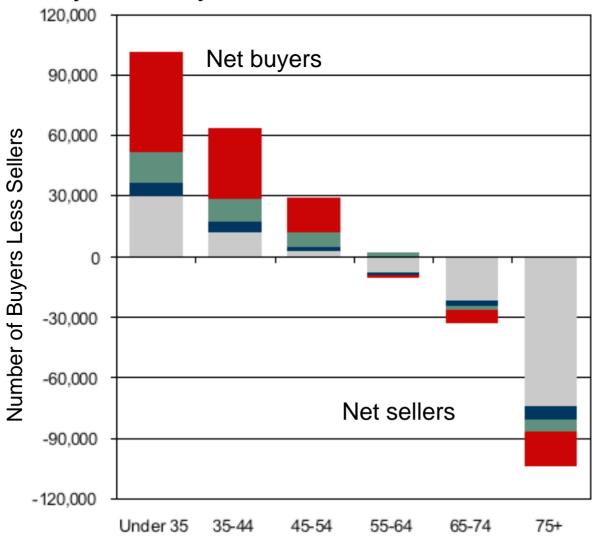
 California is one of more than several states that will face a massive, generational housing bubble before 2025

Source: *Immigrants* and *Boomers*, chapter 11; and forthcoming research

Add housing to our other crises

Who's Going to Buy Your House?

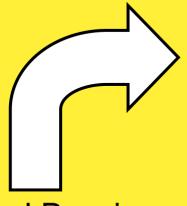
Myers' Projection for California in 2020



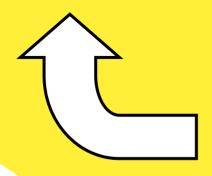
- Hispanic
- Asian and Pacific Islander
- Black
- Non-Hispanic White

Source: *Immigrants and Boomers*, Figure 11.3

Intergenerational Social Contract



Seniors' Pensions Health Care \$\$ Home-Sellers

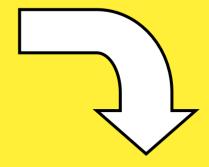


Children's Education \$\$

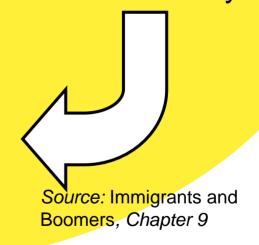
the cycle of roles

Mature Adults:
Maximum
Financial

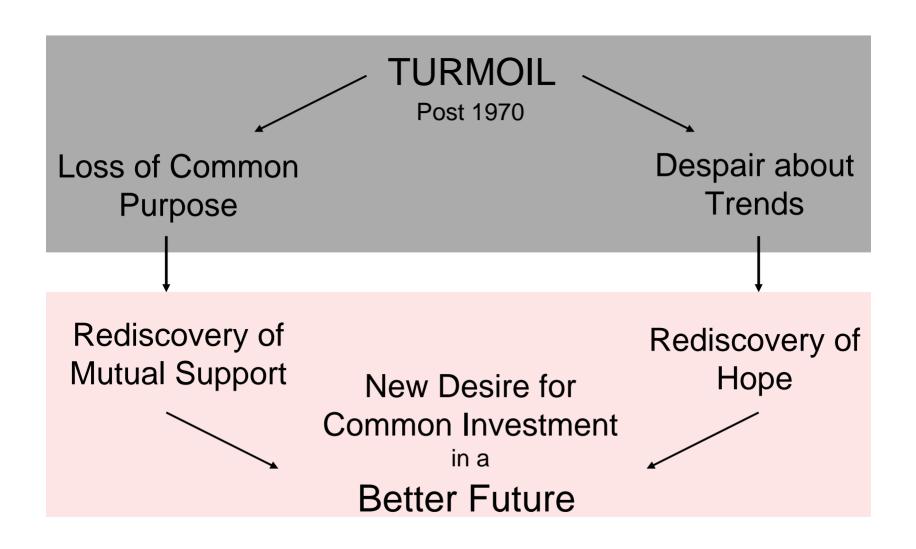
Contributions



Replacement Workers
New Taxpayers \$\$
New Home Buyers



The New Story



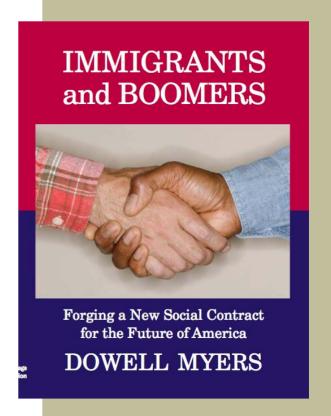
Thank You

For more information

Google "popdynamics"

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2007 Thomas & Znanecki Award